08218 b16

CONSIDERATIONS

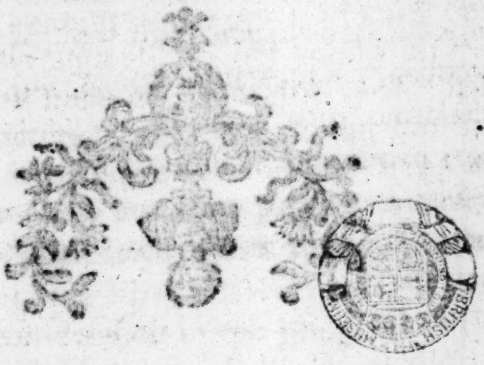
Relative to the

NORTH AMERICAN

COLONIES.

LONDON:

Printed by HENRY KENT, at the Printing-Office in *Finch-Lane*, near the *Royal Exchange*.
MDCCLXV.



CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

COLONIES

NORTH AMERICAN.

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

THE Affairs of *North America*, are of ſo much Importance to this Kingdom, that I make no Apology for offering a few Thoughts on this Subject, to the Conſideration of the Publick.

For whether we look at the Well-being and Content of near two Million of *Engliſh* Subjects, on that Continent, deſcended from and inſeparably connected with ourſelves; or weigh the Effects which their Diſcontent and Unhappineſs, muſt unavoidably produce on this Country, ſcarce a more important Object can preſent itſelf to an *Engliſhman*.

The Intereſts and Affairs of the neighbouring Kingdoms and States in *Europe*, affect us in a very remote Degree, however we may have been accuſtomed to conſider

them, when compared with thoſe of our own Colonies, and the Effects that naturally, inevitably ariſe from the Loyalty and Affection, or the Diſguſt and Ill-will of ſo large a Part of our Fellow-Subjects: Men, indeed, who are bound to us by *Duty*, but whoſe Diſtance from us, would render it difficult for this Kingdom, to keep them always under the Reſtraints of *Duty*, ſhould they ever find it their *Intereſt* to attempt in Earneſt, a Diſſolution of that ſacred Bond; and either concert the Means of ſhaking off their Dependance on us, by their own Force, or court the Protection of ſome other Power, till they were able to unfetter themſelves from the temporary Aid they had choſen to rely on, and ſtand upon their own Foundation.

That this may be the Caſe in ſome future Period, ſhould they think themſelves hardly dealt by, may not be improbable. It therefore becomes us to foreſee and prevent, and by the moſt prudent and equitable Means, the Conſequences of ſuch an Event; Conſequences the moſt ſerious in their Nature, deſtructive in their Tendency to *Great Britain* and her Colonies, who ought to tremble at even

BRITISH MUSEUM

even at the moſt diſtant Apprehenſion of ſuch a fatal Revolution.

If we enquire into the Conduct of the wiſeſt States to their diſtant Colonies, we ſhall find it always to have been to treat them with Kindneſs, and Indulgence, to engage them to look back to the Mother Country, with Duty and Affection, and to recompence the Protection they have enjoyed, by the Produce of their Labours, their Commerce, and, when needed, their Aſſiſtance.

We meet with not many Inſtances, comparatively, even of diſtant conquered Countries, revolting, till Cauſes of ſtrong Diſguſt had ſown the Seeds of Diſcontent, and ſucceeding Acts of Oppreſſion and Injuſtice, had ripened them into Rebellion.

Colonies ſprung from *Britain*, will bear much; but it is to be remembered, that they are the Sons of Freedom, and what they have been early taught to look upon as Virtue in their Anceſtors, will not ſoon be forgot by them. Nay, they will the ſooner be apt to vindicate their Wrongs, and perhaps in an improper Manner, the

more

more ſtrongly theſe Principles have been inſtilled, and the more diſtant they are from the Source of Power, and proper Information.

North America, for the moſt Part, ſince the Time of its being diſcovered by *Europeans*, has received its Inhabitants from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*: Great Numbers, indeed, have flocked from *Germany*, and ſome other Parts of *Europe*, from Tyranny and Oppreſſion, to our Colonies, as a Land of Eaſe and Freedom. Theſe eſteem themſelves *Britiſh* Subjects, equally with the Offſpring of *Britain*: They all look upon this as their Mother Country, intereſt themſelves in its Safety and Happineſs, and eſteem themſelves under every Obligation that Society admits of, to contribute to the Proſperity of *Britain*; for in this they contribute to their own.

The late Conqueſts from *France*, are not included in this Account. The Inhabitants derived their Origin from *France*, as the Inhabitants of our own Colonies ſprung from hence. Yet of theſe, a great Number are acquiring, and by a juſt and equal Government, will further acquire the like ſocia

Regard

Regard for the Intereſt of this Country, as they have done for another. Time and good Treatment ſtrangely metamorphoſe Enemies into Friends.

If then the reigning Diſpoſition in our own Colonies, has always been to conſider this as their Mother Country; the Country wherein their Hopes of Protection center; to which they look with Gratitude and Affection, and to which they chearfully bring all the Produce of their Labour and Commerce they can ſpare, to exchange for its Manufactures, an Exchange which gives Bread to Thouſands, Riches to many Individuals, and vaſt Strength to the State; if we conſider them in this Point of View, and in ſuch a Point they have ever been conſidered, by all who knew any Thing of *America*, till the preſent unhappy Period, it admits not of a Doubt, what kind of Regard is due to the *Americans*, or what manner of Treatment it is the Intereſt of *Britain* to exerciſe towards them.

And here it may be proper to explain what was meant by aſſerting, that the Affairs of our Neighbours in *Europe*, affect us in a remote Degree, compared with our Colonies.

Colonies. The Colonies not only bring an Increaſe of Revenue by their Traffick, conſume vaſt Quantities of our Manufactures, produce, and will ſtill increaſe in producing, many raw Materials; but they are ſo ſituated, their Numbers ſo increaſed, their martial Abilities ſo well known, as to give vaſt Addition to the Conſequence of *Great Britain*.

The maritime Powers well know this; they ſee, they feel our growing Influence; and that if we encourage and protect our Colonies, as we have done, the Enemies of *Britain* have every Thing to dread, its Friends every Thing to hope from the wiſe Management of the Power we poſſeſs: How eaſily are Fleets or Armies recruited for an *American* or *Weſt Indian* Expedition, from two Millions of People juſt upon the Spot? With what Expedition and Secrecy can an Armament be fitted out, of great Strength, from an *American* Port, to annoy the *Weſt India* Settlements, of thoſe who may ever think it their Intereſt to quarrel with us? But this Power may be deemed to be yet in its Infancy: Its Growth indeed is rapid, and Wiſdom is requiſite to guide its Efficacy

to

to proper Ends: This Power is, however, *Britiſh*, and will chooſe to be ſubſervient to the Intereſt of the Parent, if the Connection is maintained as it ought to be.

But ſhould this happy Connection be ever ſhaken, or weakened by any Means; ſhould the Luſt of Dominion at Home, or ſhould Avarice baniſh the Remembrance, that the *Americans* are Sons, and conceive a Deſign to enſlave and fetter a free People, all theſe glorious Proſpects vaniſh as a Dream. If they prove refractory, and ſubmit unwillingly to Reſtraints, which they think ſubverſive of their Liberties, and ſhould we aim by Force, to bring them to our Terms, is not the Houſe indeed divided againſt itſelf, the Kingdom ſplit? and inſtead of poſſeſſing a Force capable of ſupporting ourſelves and Confederates, againſt all human Oppoſition, and of awing into good Behaviour, thoſe who envy our Happineſs and good Fortune; we leſſen our Influence in Proportion to the Exertion of our Strength, and waſte our Force in cutting the Veins that ſupply Vitality and Vigour, and tearing off thoſe Sinews on which depend the Exertions of our Power.

How much better for the Whole would it be, if any Diſtinction is to be made, to treat thoſe diſtant Subjects with particular Indulgence; and indeed they deſerve it. For whatever the Motives of their Migration may have been, the Effects of this Migration have undoubtedly been ſignally beneficial to this Country; and ſome Degree of Gratitude ſeems due even to thoſe who have done us a Kindneſs, though without deſigning it.

When the firſt *Engliſh* Adventurers arrived in *America*, the Lands were of no Uſe, no Advantage to us. What little was added to the common Stock, was produced by Barter with the Natives, and this was but an inconſiderable Acquiſition. When the *Engliſh* began to ſettle, to clear and cultivate, then began the real Acquiſition of Wealth to the common national Stock. Every Acre was an Addition of ſubſtantial Value, as the Produce, or the greateſt Part of it, was deſtined for the Mother Country, in Return for her Produce and Manufactures. From ſingle Plantations, they have increaſed to Colonies and Provinces; Governments reſpectable in themſelves, and which have done

Credit

Credit to their Mother Country in Abundance of Inſtances, by the Wiſdom of their Inſtitutions, and the Virtue of their Adminiſtrations. How oft have they already ſupplied their Parent with important and effectual Aids, both in Peace and War?

Under Providence, it ſolely depends upon ourſelves, whether this Power ſhall increaſe or diminiſh; whether it ſhall be for us, or againſt us. Wiſe and gentle Methods will ever ſtrengthen this Union, will encourage Population, Cultivation, Commerce, whilſt the Produce of all centers in *Britain*. Harſh and ungracious Means will as neceſſarily weaken the Union, will make them deſirous of forgetting that they are of *Engliſh* Deſcent, will leſſen their Duty and Allegiance, and teach them to think hardly of a Country, to which they indeed owe their Original, but which they find diſpoſed to diſinherit them, and to deny them the Privileges of their Birthright. Such Means will infallibly kindle Jealouſies, ſpread Diſcontent and Diſaffection, and put a Stop to Induſtry, and to every virtuous Aim or Emulation.

People

People under ſuch Circumſtances, impatiently look forward to that Independency, which their Situation favours; and this the more eagerly, in Proportion to the Prejudices they have early imbibed againſt a Government they think oppreſſive; they grudge to contribute to the Support of a State that threatens to abridge their Liberties; Diſcontent prompts them to enquire by what Means they can moſt ſafely give Vent to their Revenge. They make a Virtue of their Neceſſities, grow frugal, either make a ſhift without, or ſupply by their own Induſtry, many Articles of Commerce, the Product of the Mother Country; Trade then begins to languiſh at Home: The Merchants will firſt feel the Effects of this Decay, the Manufacturers ſuffer next, but without knowing the Cauſe. The Landed Intereſt then finds itſelf embarraſſed; yet how few are able to trace up the Cauſe of this general Diſtreſs? The remoteſt Parts of this Kingdom already feel, and will yet feel more dreadfully, the fatal Effects of ſuch an unhappy Conduct.

Far from charging the Authors of theſe unhappy Effects, with a Deſign of *oppreſſing* the

the *Americans*, I am only recounting the Effects enſuing from their Conduct. That the *Americans* think themſelves *oppreſſed*, or deſigned to be oppreſſed, is moſt certain: Witneſs the univerſal Oppoſition to the late intended Regulations on that Continent.

Let us view what muſt happen amongſt them on this Occaſion: Children and Youth are diſpoſed early to imbibe the Language and Sentiments of their Parents: They remember, during their Lives, and are often ruled by, the paſſionate Dictates of their Forefathers. What a Proſpect this for *Britain?* One illadviſed, unneceſſary Act, has imbittered the Minds of almoſt all the Inhabitants of *America*. The Youth will receive the Tincture, and it is needleſs to expatiate on the Effects. An Age will not expunge the unhappy Impreſſions.

——— *Servabit odorem*
Teſta diu.

He, who by wrong Meaſures, and imprudent Counſels, alienates the Affections of the People from their Sovereign, is the greateſt Enemy to the Happineſs of the King,

King, and the Proſperity of his Subjects: and the more univerſal the Diſaffection, and the more remote the Subject from better Information, the greater is the Detriment. It is laying a ſure Foundation for Independancy in the Colonies; and involving both them and the Parent in Diſcontent and Ruin.

Thouſands of Manufacturers are already turned out of Employ; Multitudes ſoon muſt follow. The Landed Intereſt muſt then ſupport them, or they muſt periſh. Thus in Hopes to ſave a few Pence in the Pound, at the Expence of *America*, have we ſaddled ourſelves with an additional Poor's Rate of ten times the Amount, and ruined our Commerce, till wiſer Meaſures bring it back to its former Channel.

Should any ambitious neighbouring Power embrace the preſent Juncture to revenge their paſt Diſgraces, can we be ſure that the *Americans* will immediately forget their Animoſities againſt us, and join with their former Zeal in our Aſſiſtance? To act againſt us they never will, till Oppreſſion, grievous Oppreſſion, convinces them, that they are no longer deemed the Offspring of *Britain*,

and

and have no longer to expect the Inheritance of their Anceſtors, *Britiſh* Freedom, and a *Britiſh* King for their Sovereign.

The Adminiſtration of Government in *America*, has hitherto, for the moſt Part, been eaſy to the Subject. Such of the Governors ſent amongſt them, who were acquainted with Men and Things, held the Reigns with Eaſe and Gentleneſs; they ſaw, that for the moſt Part, the early Coloniſts were ſuch as inclined to republican Sentiments; they ſaw that their remote, independent, unconnected State, favoured thoſe Sentiments, and that they ſubmitted to Reſtraint with Impatience. Indeed, if Soils, Climates, Situations, diſpoſe Mankind to peculiar Habits, the Genius of *America* ſeems to favour Freedom. The aboriginal Natives of the Northern Part of this Hemiſphere, are, perhaps, the moſt free and unreſtrained of any in the known World. To unveil at once, the moſt unfavourable Parts of Monarchy, to ſuch a People, was certainly the moſt unlikely Means of gaining the good Opinion of Subjects almoſt bordering on Republican Madneſs. To reſtrict their Foreign Commerce, by which they ſubſiſted;

to

to impoſe domeſtic Taxes, without their Concurrence; whilſt they were overloaded with Provincial Debts, contracted to ſupport the *Britiſh* Cauſe to annihilate, inſtead of rectifying their Medium of Commerce; to ſink them at once, in their own Opinion, from the full Fruition of Liberty, to the loweſt State of conquered Countries, was too hardy a Step in a reaſonable Adminiſtration; and thoſe who have the Conduct of the Helm at preſent, muſt feel the Weight, the baneful Influence of ſuch fatal Regulations.

A *Britiſh* Parliament has certainly *Power* to do many Things, which they have no *Right* to do. They have *Power* to enact what Laws they think fit, reſpecting any Part of the *Britiſh* Subjects; but ſtill it is to be remembered, that Reaſon is the ſupreme Law, and any thing inconſiſtent with it, is void in itſelf. The Diſtance of *America*, renders it impoſſible for its Inhabitants to be properly repreſented in a Parliament of *Great Britain*. The very Title of the Parliament ſhews, that the *Americans* are yet no Part of it; and conſequently to ſubject them to Laws, in the making of which they

they have no Voice, can have none, is ſtriking at the Root of our own Conſtitution.

Let us look back to the Diſcovery of *America*, by *Engliſh* Subjects; view their Riſe, Progreſs, Eſtabliſhments, and Connections with their Mother Country, and we ſhall ſoon obſerve, that thoſe who adviſed Meaſures of the kind hinted at, have robbed the Crown of one of its moſt eſſential Privileges, and ſeem to be guilty of little leſs than High Treaſon.

An Adventurer diſcovers an unknown Country, unpoſſeſſed by any Potentate, with whom either Law, or Cuſtom, has eſtabliſhed any formal Connections; he treats with the native Inhabitants, purchaſes a Tract of Country from them, returns home, and applies to his Sovereign for Leave to ſettle, and propoſes Terms of Cultivation.

A Charter granting Poſſeſſion, agreeable to the Terms of poſſeſſing *Engliſh* Property, and certain Privileges to encourage the Adventurer to ſettle in ſo remote a Place, are agreed upon, and confirmed. His Family,

Relatives, and Friends tranſport themſelves to the diſtant Settlement; confiding in the Right of his Sovereign to grant him the Property, and the Privileges of his Birthright: Laws for the good Government of the Settlers, conſonant to the Laws of their native Country. This Confidence acquires by Time, the full Influence of a fundamental Principle, and occupies the Minds of thoſe to whom it is granted, with a Degree of Force, not eaſily to be obliterated.

They think that if the Charter conſtituting theſe Regulations is defective, it may ſoon become a Doctrine, that their Property is alſo precarious; and that every Attempt to deprive the *Americans* of any Degree of that Freedom, which was at firſt granted them; unleſs ſome obvious Tendency to Malverſation appears, may ſoon be followed, by taking from them, the Property and Poſſeſſion they enjoy by virtue of the ſame Charter.

The *Americans* never ſeem to have diſputed the Right of the *Britiſh* Parliament, to regulate their Trade and Affairs, ſo as to prevent them from interfereing with the Advantage

vantage of the Mother Country. They conſider themſelves as a Part of that great *Whole*, over which the *Britiſh* Parliament preſides, and in every reaſonable Inſtance yeild to its Authority. They pay Duties, Impoſts, Taxes laid upon their Commerce agreeable to the Laws of Navigation. They trade to ſome Places, omit trading to others; they export Goods to one Part of the World, and not to another, juſt as the Laws eſtabliſhed for the Good of the *Whole* directs, and this is but their reaſonable Duty.

The Parliament of *Great Britain* has, moſt undoubtedly, a Right to direct all this, and every Tranſgreſſor againſt Regulations, calculated for the Good of the Whole, and to reſtrain one Part of the Community from availing themſelves of any Circumſtances in their Situation, that might tend to the Detriment of another is juſtly puniſhable.

But if we ſtep further, May not that Right at leaſt be doubted? I am an *Engliſhman*, a *Britiſh* Subject; the Parliament has Power to deprive me of any Part of my Property they think fit, and to ſubject me

to every poſſible Degree of Miſery and Wretchedneſs; but if I have done nothing to deſerve it, *Power only* gives them no *Right* to do it.

If I miſtake not, when Contributions are to be raiſed in a conquered Country, the Vanquiſhed have always Liberty to raiſe the Sum demanded, in what manner they think convenient. And ought our Colonies to be placed in a worſe Situation than Countries ſubdued by the Force of Arms? Deprived of the Privilege of raiſing Money expected from them, for the Aid of Government, in the manner moſt eaſy to the Individuals who muſt pay it? Nothing can afford ſtronger Proofs, both of the Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity of leaving this Power with the Colonies, wherever the Right may be lodged, than the Acts that have occaſioned a Diſcontent through the Colonies, next to Madneſs, a univerſal Stagnation of Commerce, and the Ruin of a Multitude of induſtrious *Britiſh* Manufacturers. A trifling Inſtance will ſuffice to demonſtrate this Aſſertion; to enter into a full Detail of all would exceed my Leiſure and Abilities.

The

The Stamp Act directs the like Duties to be paid for the publick News-Papers, and the Advertiſements contained in them, as in *England*. Heretofore, as no Duty was paid, an *American* could advertiſe the Loſs of a Cow, a Horſe, or a Hog, and ſometimes things of leſs Value, at a little Expence. The News-Papers being cheap, came into many Hands, and Strays in their Wilderneſs Country, were often by this Means recovered. But all this is now at an End. The News-Papers will be drop'd in many Places; in others, the Price of circulating Intelligence will become too expenſive; and thus the poor *American*, who needs it moſt, has it leaſt in his Power to recover his Subſtance, through this eaſy and effectual Means. Were theſe Duties only framed to reſtrain the Liberty of the Preſs in *America*, the Operation of this Law will do it effectually, and the Precedent may in future times be pleaded nearer Home.

It may ſeem to many, that Charters for *American* Governments, were granted without much Conſideration, without Regard to any thing but the Petitioner's Requeſt. But this is a great Miſtake. It was expreſſly covenanted,

covenanted, that the Adventurers ſhould perform certain Conditions on their Side: In Conſideration of which, they were to enjoy certain Benefits. With what Right then can any Man, or any Body of Men, interfere in ſuch ſolemn Compacts, unleſs ſufficient Cauſe is adminiſtered? What Diſcouragement would hence ariſe to future Settlements? What Diminution of Regal Authority? An Authority wiſely ſuppoſed ever to ſubſiſt in the Crown, for publick Benefit.

This way of Reaſoning ſeems juſt to the Writer, as well as to the *Americans* in general who live under theſe Grants, and who little ſuſpect that the Tenure of their Property, the Enjoyment of their Liberties, the Poſſeſſion of every thing they eſteem valuable, is entirely at the Mercy of Men totally ignorant of their Condition, Abilities; nay, many of whom may juſtly be ſuppoſed, from what has happened, to be altogether ignorant, that they are the Deſcendants of *Engliſhmen*, claim the like Privileges, and look up to the ſame Royal Sovereign for Protection.

Canada,

Canada, and its Dependencies, a vaſt Country, ſuperior in Extent, equal in Number of Inhabitants to ſome ancient Empires, that make no contemptible Figure in Hiſtory, is a conquered Country; it belonged to the *French*, was a Thorn in our Sides, and was at Length wreſted from them, by great military Virtue, and the Permiſſion of Providence. Conditions of Surrender were ſtipulated, and theſe Stipulations are to be the Baſis of all Regulations in that Country. If no expreſs Agreement was made, that they ſhould enjoy the *Britiſh* Privilege of having no Monies raiſed upon them, but by the Conſent of their Repreſentatives, the *Britiſh* Parliament have a *Right*, as well as *Power*, to make what Aſſeſſments upon it they think fit. But it is apprehended, that the Caſe of our Colonies ſprung from ourſelves, and living under Charters expreſſly granting them particular Exemptions, is very different. Otherwiſe there would be no Advantage to have been born the Subjects of *Great Britain*, ſince they muſt yield to the ſame harſh Terms which Men ſubjected by the Sword, have been forced to ſubmit to; be governed by Laws, and their Property diſpoſed of by Regulations, in the making

making of which they have no Voice, can give no diſſent.

The publick Prints inform us ſufficiently of the Diſquietude which theſe imprudent Meaſures have produced: The Adminiſtration, doubtleſs, have yet more perplexing Accounts. Riots, Tumults, and every Species of Anarchy, that People, mad with the Proſpect of Oppreſſion, can exemplify.

What can be done under ſuch Circumſtances? To reverſe theſe fatal Acts and Regulations, may ſeem to encourage a licentious Rabble to oppoſe every Act of Power, however conducive to the publick Good, if it ſquared not with popular Opinion. To perſevere in a Reſolution, to ſubject ſuch untractable Spirits, even by Force, if it was neceſſary, would be next to Diſtraction. Our wiſe Neighbours already ſee this, and riſe in their Demands, increaſe in their obſtinate Refuſal to our Claims, in Proportion to the Proſpect of this Diſunion. A dangerous Precedent on one Hand, as ſome may think to reverſe without Trial, an Act of the ſupreme Legiſlature: on the other a ruinous civil

civil Diſcord. Theſe are among the unfortunate Legacies to the preſent Adminiſtration.

It may perhaps be reply'd, that the *Americans* ought to be reduced to Reaſon by any Means, rather than the ſupreme Authority of a *Britiſh* Legiſlature, ſhould be treated with Oppoſition or Contempt: That they ought to have remonſtrated againſt Grievances when felt, and not to revolt againſt Government, for imaginary Evils; all this is granted. But let us for a Moment place ourſelves in their Situation.

Many of theſe People fled from Tyranny and Oppreſſion, and took all the Care they could in the Charters they obtained, to have as much Freedom, as the Genius of our Conſtitution could allow.

The Sons have been taught to eſteem theſe Privileges as the moſt ſacred Depoſit, and in Defence of which they ought to riſque every thing.

When the Reſolutions of Parliament were ſent over to *America*, and the Inhabitants

found the Privileges which they deemed moſt ſacred, were to be aboliſhed for ever; what could be expected from Perſons bred up almoſt in Independency, and full of Republican Sentiments? They were ſtruck with the deepeſt Aſtoniſhment; they attempted to remonſtrate, ſome with as much Temper as could be expected from People in this Situation; others, with ſuch evident Tokens of Reſentment, as plainly indicated that Reaſon had for the Time forſook them.

But when they were informed by their Agents, that their Remonſtrances could not be heard; that the Meaſure was finally reſolved on, without their being allowed to explain themſelves in any manner; and that they had no Part left, but to ſubmit; their Rage of the Populace broke all Bounds, and they have proceeded to ſuch Lengths, as their warmeſt Advocates can by no Means juſtify.

Let it likewiſe be remembered, that when the Stamp Duty was laid upon this Nation, it was only one Quarter Part of the preſent. It has riſen by Degrees to what it is, as the Riches of the Country could bear it.

America was by no Means ſo rich as *England*, when this Duty commenced; yet the People are taxed not only as high as the *Engliſh*, but as much higher, as a Shilling is more valuable in *America* than in *England*, which in ſome Provinces, I apprehend, is a Third, if not one Half more; that is, a Shilling Sterling in *England* is equal to 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* in the Colonies. So that at one Step, not only a Tax is laid upon them without their Conſent; but conſidering their Poverty compared with *England*, and the Difference of Exchange, the Load is heavier than this Country would ever ſubmit to. A convincing Proof, how neceſſary it is that all internal Taxes ſhould every where be raiſed, only by the Repreſentatives of thoſe who pay them.

It has been alledged, and moſt weakly alledged, that the *Americans* are repreſented, as much as Copyholders, many large Towns and populous Communities in this Kingdom. It is amazing how ſuch an Opinion could poſſeſs the Mind of any Man of Reflection. There is not a Man in this Kingdom, be his Condition ever ſo low in Life, who may not be ſaid to have an Influence

in the Choice of our Repreſentatives, though not worth a ſingle Shilling. He can at leaſt make Part of the Mob, and huzza for the Man he likes. But if he has Property, his Influence riſes in Proportion. There are People in this Capital, who are neither Freemen, nor Freeholders, yet have it in their Power greatly to affect the Choice of Repreſentatives, in this City, as well as in many Parts of the Nation. Can an *American* do this? How vain was the Sophiſtry! How flimſy the Deception! What an Affront to the Underſtandings of ſenſible People.

It has been propoſed by ſome that the Colonies ought to be repreſented in the *Britiſh* Senate, by Members choſe by the *Americans*. This indeed proves that they are not yet repreſented there, in the Opinion of thoſe who make the Propoſition, and this is ſome Palliation to the preſent Extravagancies: But the Writer thinks they never ſhould be; and that it is the mutual Intereſt of the Colonies, and *Great Britain*, that no Deputies from *North America* ſhould ever have a Seat in the *Britiſh* Senate.

Can

Can they ſend any Deputies who will at no time give up their own, or the *Britiſh* Liberties, for a Place or a Penſion? The more diſtant they are from their Conſtituents, the more they are expoſed to Temptation. The leſs Property theſe Deputies have, the leſs will be the Purchaſe of their Votes. Will *Americans*, who are able to ſerve their Country, and of independent Fortunes, be at all times willing to riſque their Lives acroſs the Ocean in this Service? Will the Diſtance admit them to conſult their Conſtituents, during the Seſſions? Muſt we have an auxiliary Army of *American* Penſioners, in Conjunction with ſome other diſtant Members, not leſs purchaſeable, to bear down the Sons of Freedom and Independance in the *Britiſh* Senate, when perhaps the whole Fortune of Liberty is at Stake? No. We ſee enough of the Effects of venal Poverty at Home, without adding to its Influence from our Colonies.

In forming our Opinions of the Degree of Subjection to be expected from the *Americans*, we ſhould place ourſelves in their Situation, and conſult Reaſon, the Laws of Nature and Nations. To form our Ideas of this

this Point, from Precedents to be found in *Engliſh* Hiſtory, is vain. *England* never had a like Precedent. When *Magna Charta* was firſt eſtabliſhed, where were her Colonies? When the People uſed to meet themſelves, to tranſact their own Buſineſs, but found it neceſſary to chooſe Repreſentatives in Parliament, what was *America?* The Wiſdom of thoſe who firſt granted Charters of Colonization, ſaw the Impoſſibility of the Colonies being repreſented in the *Britiſh* Legiſlature, by any other than the King's Perſon, who as a Part of the Legiſlature, was liable to have his Adviſers called to Account, if the *Britiſh* Subjects whom he therein repreſented, were not governed as they ought to be.

A Governor, the King's Repreſentative, reſides in every Province. No Laws can be paſſed without his Conſent; nor are theſe Laws valid till they have received the Royal Approbation at Home. Thus the Allegiance of the *Americans* is at once ſecured to the Mother Country, and Care is taken that no Act ſhall be paſſed in any one Government, that ſhall be detrimental to another, to the Whole, or to *Great Britain*, by forming

any

any legal Confederacy amongſt themſelves to her Diſadvantage.

It is well known, that the Powers of the King's Repreſentatives are ſuch, that if any Colony proves refractory to the juſt Deſires of the Crown, there are many legal Expedients by which a Governor can awake the People to Reaſon.

Suppoſe the King's Miniſters had adviſed him to inſtruct the *American* Governors, that a Stamp Act would be uſeful to the reſpective Governments, and to apply to their ſeveral Houſes of Repreſentatives on this Occaſion, laying before each the general Plan upon which they were to proceed. Would this have been refuſed? moſt probably not. They would have ſeen their own Security, and the Good of the State united in a Stamp Act, conducted by Perſons acquainted with the State of the Country, and Ability of its Inhabitants; which, permit me to ſay, are not ſo generally, ſo fully underſtood in this Country, as is neceſſary for our own ſake, as well as theirs: This I aſſert not at Random, or mere Conjecture, but from daily Obſervation and Experience.

perience. Should *America* in Proceſs of Time, become the greater Country, and the Reſidence of a Monarch of its own, ſhould a Parliament there be formed of Repreſentatives wholly *Americans*; ſhould this Legiſlature take upon them to tax *Great Britain*, and have the Power in their Hands to compel its Submiſſion, or to reduce it to extreme Diſtreſs, how would this Country like ſuch Treatment? They would pay Obedience no longer than they could help it; would think of the *Americans*, preciſely as they think of us; that we at ſuch a Diſtance muſt be wholly unacquainted with their real State; that the Acts made concerning them gave evident Proofs of it, and that it would become them either to ſtand by themſelves, or look out for leſs rigorous Maſters.

I am not ignorant that Endeavours are uſed, to prompt thoſe who are to decide on theſe important Affairs, to exert what they call *Authority*, and to *inforce* the Acts that have given ſuch univerſal Diſcontent through *America*, and opened a Proſpect of Ruin to Thouſands in this Country, who deſerve a better Fate.

Let

Let us trace the Effects of this Counſel. The *Americans*, they ſay, will ſoon ſubmit to this, and every other Act the *Britiſh* Parliament think fit to preſcribe. But are they ſure this will be the Reſult? Admit however that theſe Gentlemen are in the right, that the *Americans* quietly ſubmit to Parliamentary Authority; yet they muſt likewiſe admit, that the *Americans* in general are diſguſted with a Law, that deprives them of what they plainly tell us they think their Birthright. Whether they think right or wrong is nothing to the Argument, it is enough that this Perſuaſion is general: Force may prevail upon them to act againſt their Perſuaſion, but will it follow that Force will change their Opinion? By no means: *Rigour* and *enforcing* may poſſibly oblige them to ſubmit, till it is in their Power to emancipate themſelves, not from internal Taxes only, but from all foreign Juriſdiction; and this Event will undoubtedly approach the faſter, as the means employed to force them to Obedience, are more diſguſtful and compulſory.

How much more advantageous would it be to this Nation, could the Legiſlature unite

in this ſingle Conſideration. By what means can *Great Britain* moſt effectually render it the Intereſt and Inclination of her Colonies, to continue not only dependant upon, but inviolably attached to her.

It is hard to gain a diſpaſſionate Hearing, againſt Prejudices that flatter at once our Vanity and our Avarice. If the Stamp Act is repealed, we encourage the *Americans* to ſhake off all Dependance: This is the general Language I own, and am ſorry for our own Sakes that it is ſo, becauſe it betrays our Vanity and Selfiſhneſs. The moſt ſanguine Abettors of *enforcing* cannot vindicate the Act itſelf, nor urge one Plea for its Neceſſity; at leaſt I have neither ſeen nor heard any reaſonable Arguments on this Head. If then an Act has been paſſed by the *Britiſh* Legiſlature, that carries evident Tokens of Impropriety, would it not be more prudent to reſcind ſuch an Act, and to convince the *Americans*, that they will ever meet with Juſtice in the *Britiſh* Senate, ſhould they at any time be in Danger of Oppreſſion by imprudent Conduct; than perſiſt in a Miſtake, becauſe it has once been adopted, and hold out to them an Example of injudicious Adherence

rence to Errors once committed? What ſhould we think of ſuch a Conduct in private Life? Yet Juſtice, Equity, Moderation, and good Senſe, are the ſame, whether they relate to the Concerns of private Men, or of States and Empires.

In reflecting on this Subject, one cannot but regret, that the Geography and Hiſtory of our Colonies, is ſo little attended to. It is not among the Vulgar only, that we meet with Perſons who are totally unacquainted with the Situation, Produce, Inhabitants, their Condition, manner of Life, their Traffick and Connections.

And this is the more inexcuſable, as there are not wanting many uſeful Treatiſes upon theſe Subjects, and were the Publick, or that Part of the Publick which ought to be inquiſitive after proper Information, as liable to become a Part of the *Britiſh* Senate, and empowered by the *Britiſh* People, the grand Source of Power, to decide on Queſtions of the utmoſt Importance to *America*; I ſay was this Part of the Publick ſolicitous after Information, in reſpect to theſe important

Objects, numerous Occaſions of it, would daily preſent themſelves.

How many People are there, and thoſe too of no ſmall Figure, who know no Difference between the Inhabitants of *North America*, and thoſe of the *Weſt-India* Iſlands? They form their Ideas of all, by the Manner and Appearance of a Few, who have no Reſemblance to them in Manners, Way of Life, or Fortune. The *Britiſh* Inhabitants of *North America* are of two Sorts; thoſe who live in the northern Part of the Continent, and thoſe who inhabit the Southern. *Nova Scotia*, *New England* and its Dependencies, *New York*, the *Jerſeys* and *Penſilvania*, belong to the former Diviſion: *Maryland* may be divided between both; *Virginia*, the *Carolinas* and *Georgia*, are the other Part. Of the late ſouthern or northern Acquiſitions I ſay nothing, as they are yet very light in the Scale of Power. The Inhabitants of the northern Part, live like our lower *Engliſh* Farmers; they plough, ſow, reap, and vend different Kinds of Grain, as the Land they occupy and the Climate permits; Maize, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Peaſe, and the like rural Produce. They raiſe Cattle, Hogs, and

and other Domeſtick Animals for Uſe and Sale; alſo Hemp, Flax, Naval Stores, but yet in ſmall Quantities. Their Summers are hot, their Winters ſevere, and their Lives are paſſed with the like Labour and Toil, and with the ſame Impoſſibilities of acquiring more than is ſufficient to maintain their Families juſt above Want, as the little Farmers in *England*.

This they have in their Favour. As Land is for the moſt Part cheap (a moſt certain Sign of Poverty) the young People can marry without much Riſque of maintaining themſelves and their Offspring. The Parents can give a few Cows, Swine and perhaps a few Moveables, and help them to build a Log Houſe. Here the young Couple ſit down contented, they labour as their Parents have done, are content with hard Fare and mean Cloathing. If they get enough to ſupport them, they are ſatisfied, and if they can afford to have an *Engliſh* Utenſil, or *Engliſh* Cloathing, they are rich. Here and there one applies to commerce, and ſettles in the next Town, as in *England*. Fortune, aided by Capacity and Induſtry, raiſes him above the Level, and he acquires the Reputation

of

of a conſiderable Merchant, on a Capital that would not furniſh a Chandler's Shop in *London*. He is however, a moſt uſeful Member of Society, he imports all the *Britiſh* Manufactures he can, and vends them amongſt his Compatriots. The Grower of the Product, ſuppoſe it Wool, the Manufacturers, for there are many; the *Engliſh* Merchant, the Navigators, the *American* Merchant, all are Gainers by a poor Wilderneſs *American*, the Conſumer. What a pleaſing Proſpect for *Britain*, who will every Day more ſenſibly feel the Advantages of this Commerce, unleſs by —— ſhall I call it their evil Genius, they are goaded on, to accelerate their own undoing, by oppreſſing the *Americans*.

Such is the Way of Life of the *North Americans* of the Northern Diſtrict. The Inhabitants of the Southern approach nearer to the *Weſt Indians*. The Land is capable of producing Riches of another Nature; Tobacco, which has been the pleaſing Intoxication of many Nations, is produced in *Maryland* and *Virginia*, chiefly by the Labour of Negroes. Rice is the Product of the *Carolinas*, a happy Succedaneum for Bread; the proper, the moſt ſuitable Support of hot

Countries;

Countries; this likewiſe is raiſed, cultivated, dreſs'd by the Labour of Negroes.

The Wiſdom of Providence is every where conſpicuous to the attentive Obſerver; and perhaps in nothing more, than in the the different Degrees of Fertility of the different Parts of the Globe, moſt wiſely adjuſted to the Neceſſities of the reſpective Inhabitants. In the colder Regions, the Earth produces its Stores with Difficulty. Strength and Labour here are requiſite to unlock the little Treaſure that the Earth contains. But the bracing Cold, the whetted Appetite, the ſtrong Powers of Digeſtion, derived from Cold and Penury, render Labour eaſy, and the Conſequences pleaſureable. Thus the dreary Waſtes of *Siberia*, the mountainous *Alps*, the bleak *Highlands*, the *Cumbrian* Hills, the *Yorkſhire* Woulds, and *Welch* Mountains, breed as hardy as contented, and as uſeful a Set of Mortals, as the Univerſe produces.

A few Acres in *Barbadoes*, or others of the *Weſt India* Iſlands, properly cultivated, yeild a Crop, in Value ſuperior, perhaps, to one hundred times the Extent, either in *North America* or in *England*. And it is juſt that they

ſhould

ſhould do ſo. In theſe hot Climates, if the Author of Nature had not deſpenſed the Means of Subſiſtence with a more liberal Hand than in the Northern Regions, who could have ſubſiſted there?

Were the Poſſeſſors of Lands in theſe hot Countries, obliged to labour for themſelves, we ſhould not ſee the many Inſtances we do, of Idleneſs and Extravagance. But the Slave Trade enables the Inhabitants of theſe warmer Regions, to procure, not only the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life, but vaſt Wealth, at the Expence of People, who born under a hotter Sun, are found able to bear Labour equal almoſt to a Native of the North, in his own Country, and compelled to work by ſore and grievous Stripes. Men in all things like ourſelves, Colour and ſome Circumſtances of Form excepted, torn from the tendereſt Tyes of Nature, by Violence and Fraud, to drudge in Servitude during the Reſidue of their Days, without Hope of Redemption!

The Wealth accruing from the Sweat of theſe poor Wretches, who ſooner or later may be permitted to become the dreadful

Executioners

Executioners of ſlow-paced Vengeance, has unhappily fixed in the Minds of many here, an Idea that the *Weſt Indians*, and *North Americans*, are in the like Situation, in Reſpect to the Means of acquiring Riches, and poſſeſſing them; a Miſtake which an attentive Conſideration of the Premiſes, may perhaps contribute to remove.

For as the Northern People of *America* truſt to their own Induſtry; ſo the Southern Inhabitants are rich in Proportion to the Number of Slaves they poſſeſs. In the former all are low and middling People, the ſure Support of any Country, none are great or rich. In the latter there are few middling People, a very few are conſiderable, the reſt are below the middle Claſs in general.

The Conduct of theſe People, I mean the Inhabitants of the Southern Diſtrict, when they arrive in *England*, approaches nearer to Shew and Extravagance, than the Northern Inhabitants, and has added to the general Miſtake in this Country, that the *Americans* are rich. The Conduct of the *Weſt Indians*, has perfected this Idea. Bred for the moſt Part

at the Breaſt of a Negro Slave; ſurrounded in their Infancy with a numerous Retinue of theſe dark Attendants, they are habituated by Precept and Example, to Senſuality, Selfiſhneſs, and Deſpotiſm. Of thoſe ſent over to this Country for their Education, few totally emerge from their firſt Habitudes; view them as Sons, Huſbands, Fathers; as Friends, Citizens, and Men, what Examples! Splendor, Dreſs, Shew, Equipage, every thing that can create an Opinion of their Importance, is exerted to the utmoſt of their Credit. They are thought rich, and they are ſo indeed at the Expence of the poor Negroes, who cultivate their Lands, could they be contented with Mediocrity.

If People of Quality and Condition would Study the Geography and State of our Colonies; would they give themſelves the Trouble of diſtinguiſhing their different Situations, it would prevent them from confounding together, Circumſtances extremely oppoſite; from inferring, that becauſe an opulent *Weſt Indian* vies in Glare with a Nobleman of the firſt Diſtinction, therefore a poor *American* Farmer is able to bear the ſame heavy Load of Taxes, or ought to be placed in the ſame Scale of Ability. In

In a Word, the Inhabitants of the *Weſt India* Iſlands, are in general the Reverſe of the Northern *North Americans:* Whilſt theſe are poor, laborious, contented with a little, Examples of Diligence and Frugality, the beſt Riches of a State; the *Weſt Indians* are too often the Reverſe. Much indeed is to be allowed for the different Climates. Heat enervates, it creates Senſuality, and urges to contrive every Means of Gratification.

Another Circumſtance has likewiſe contributed not a little to eſtabliſh an Idea of the Riches of *North America*; which is, the known Hoſpitality of theſe People in general, to all *Britiſh* Strangers. Vying with each other who ſhall afford their Gueſt the moſt hoſpitable Entertainment, they have unfortunately rivetted an Opinion in Travellers, that they are rich, only becauſe they are generous to Exceſs.

But leaving this ample Field to others, who have more Leiſure, and greater Abilities, I ſhall here remark that there are too few, who have Hearts ſufficiently dilated to conceive, that a Conduct founded on noble,

generous, upright Principles, is the Glory of Man, and invariably procures him every Bleſſing compatible with his Situation. A Fact of ſufficient Authenticity, will perhaps illuſtrate this Aſſertion, and at the ſame Time point out the Mark we ſhould aim at, in the preſent intereſting Situation of our Affairs.

When the *Roman* Army was ſhut up in the *Caudine* Forks, the wiſe *Samnite*, with a thorough Senſe of this Principle, adviſed his Son to permit the *Romans*, without Injury, to retreat from the Danger in which they ſaw themſelves irretrievably involved.

This diſpleaſed the haughty General, and his Army; the wiſe old Man then adviſed the total Deſtruction of the *Roman* Army.

Neither of theſe Alternatives were purſued: Selfiſhneſs and Pride preſented a middle Way, that ended in the Deſtruction of the Nation; the *Samnite* Leader, fluſhed with the Succeſs of his Machinations, determined to enjoy the Pleaſure of a Triumph. He gave the *Romans* their Lives, at the Expence of their Honour. The Inſult was too great for the *Roman* People to forgive; they

they vowed Revenge, and hoped, though vainly, to blot out the Remembrance of their Diſgrace and Perfidy, by the Extirpation of the *Samnite* People, which, contrary to Juſtice and Humanity, they effected.

Let us profit by this Leſſon; the Caſes, I own, are not parallel, but yet the Moral may be of Uſe to us. Three Ways are propoſed to extricate ourſelves from the preſent Perplexities. Firſt to enforce the Stamp Act; the ſecond to ſuſpend, and the third to repeal it.

The firſt ſeems like the *Samnites* Opinion, to deſtroy the *Roman* Army totally, then in their Power. The *Americans*, moſt probably will not give up their Claims without Bloodſhed, and whoever ſuffers, the King by that loſes a Subject, and the Affections likewiſe of many more.

To ſuſpend the Act ſeems to be holding a Yoke of Diſgrace over them, which though they may bear at preſent, without Marks of Impatience, will only prompt them to make the quicker Strides to abſolute Independency.

A Repeal

A Repeal of the Stamp Act, will convince the *Americans* ſo fully of our Equity and Moderation, that they will no longer ſuſpect us of Deſigns againſt their Freedom, their Privileges, or their Intereſts. They will be ſure of Redreſs, if Grievances ariſe, and will bear them patiently, till they can be heard.

Remember, my Countrymen, that the *Americans* are not a conquered, but a free People; deſcended from freeborn *Engliſhmen* for the moſt Part, and thoſe who are of another Progeny, have acquired the like Sentiments, by Proximity and Acquaintance. They are People of the like Paſſions with ourſelves, and look upon oppreſſive Power, with the ſame Spirit of Intolerance; while their Generoſity and Affection, to thoſe who treat them kindly, is like the Region they inhabit, vaſt, and whoſe Limits are hitherto unknown.

The Wiſdom of Parliament may nevertheleſs, in Time, diſcover ſuch Means of perfect and ſtable Connection with the Colonies, as may ſecure a juſt Authority over them, and at the ſame Time, preſerve inviolable,

inviolable, the Privileges and Immunities, purchaſed by our Brethren in *America*, at the Expence of cultivating a Wilderneſs for our Advantage.

And indeed by the prudent Policy of thoſe who planned or granted the ſeveral Charters, the Taſk of ſecuring the Dependance of the Colonies, is rendered much leſs difficult to Government, than it might have been, had the Charters been uniform. But by granting diſtinct Privileges and Eſtabliſhments to the ſeveral Provinces, each has acquired an Opinion, that its own is the moſt perfect, and would not willingly exchange its Condition, or communicate its *Peculiar*, with any other Colony. Thus they are, and muſt long remain, not only *unconnected*, but in ſome Caſes *Oppoſites*, till the Proſpect of ſome common Danger appears, and forces them to unite in their common Defence, and build up a potent and formidable Confederacy.

If we permit the *Americans* to trade as they have done; if we permit them to raiſe every Kind of raw Materials, of which we have need, either for Uſe or Commerce; if we render it their Intereſt, by ſuch Means,

to

to be dependant upon us, they will be so continually.

If we promote Scholarships for *Americans* in our Universities; give Posts and Benefits in *America*, to such *Americans* who have studied here, preferably to others. If the Government permits such Youth as come to *Europe*, on account of their Studies, to come over in the King's Ships *gratis*, we shall still unite them more firmly. The *Americans*, by mixing with our own Youth at the University, will diffuse a Spirit of Enquiry after *America*, and its Affairs; they will cement Friendships on both Sides, which will be of more lasting Benefit to both Countries, than all the Armies that *Britain* can send thither.

If such be the Conduct of this Nation towards her Colonies, she will ever possess their Affections, the Product of their Labours will center here; their Power will be subservient to our Command, and a Force will be generated, Providence permitting, superior to what any Country now possesses.

FINIS.